The Progressive Review

The only safe nuclear reactor is 93,000,000 miles away

Nr. 262

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Beyond capitalism & socialism

The Mondragon story

The economic thinking of our times assumes a neccessary choice between a handful of economic systems — capitalism, socialism, communism, or, more recently, a pragmatic blending of these competing approaches. A minority of theorists, largely of a new age or green bent, have argued that we must develop alternatives to these existing systems. While some of their arguments strike many as utopian, there exists, in northern Spain, a model of an alternative economy that has been flourishing for more than thirty years and which directly and positively affects the economic lives of hundreds of thousands of people. Below, Erik Haugland, of the Puget Sound alternative paper Waves, describes the workers' cooperatives of Mondragon. On page 4, Terry Mollner gives further insights into the remarkable Mondragon economic system:

The first coop was formed in 1954 by five students of Father Jose Arizmendi, a priest who had founded a technical school. There are now over 100 Mondragon cooperatives, with nearly 20,000 worker-owners and extensive supporting institutions, including a bank, a research institute, a medical cooperative and a network of technical schools. Terry Mollner, who is involved in an attempt to emulate the Mondragon experience in this country, first visited the Spanish city on his way back from India where he had been researching the tradition of Gandhian non-violence. He saw the Mondragon cooperatives as an economic application of Gandhian principles and wrote his PhD dissertation on the subject. Mollner attributes the dramatic success of the cooperatives in part to their use of hierarchical structures and their regional support. While ultimate power rests in congresses of worker-owners, Mondragon cooperatives have a strict, elected hierarchy that makes all day-to-day decisions. The bank, which is controlled by representatives from the cooperatives, has several hundred thousand individual depositors. Nearly one out of every five people in the Basque region thus supports the cooperatives, which have prospered while the Spanish economy and cooperatives elsewhere have been experiencing difficulties.

According to Mollner, Mondragon cooperatives have advanced a new answer to the basic question: what is our fundamental agreement about how we are going to relate to each other? Their principle is not profit or growth, but extending friendship. Says Mollner, "Both capitalism and socialism make the same mistake. In both the product is more important than the relationships among the producers.

"Suppose you have an apple to share. Under capitalism, everybody (stands) ten feet away and dives for the apple. Socialists say, 'Gross, man! What about the old people, what about... Let's have somebody divide the apple up for us.

"Both capitalism and socialism assume that what is most important is the dividing up of the apple. However, what is really most important is the relationship among the people who are doing the dividing... What we're really concerned with is friendship and inner peace, not so much the apple itself."

Mollner says capitalism emphasizes freedom of the invidividual over responsibility to society, while socialism emphasizes responsibility to society over freedom of the individual. Mondragon cooperatives unite the interests of the individuals with those of society. — **Waves.**

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Improving the UN

Despite the UN-bashing that has been a favorite sport of the Reagan years, those same years have also given us example after example of the failure and futility of unilateral military and diplomatic policy. A worthy topic for the upcoming presidential campaign would be a discussion of ways to improve the institution that is still the major repository for the hope that the nations of the world can work together in peace and decency. A recent issue of New Options (Dec. 29) looked at this question, including one of the most interesting ideas on the subject — from Richard Hudson of the Center for War/Peace Studies. Hudson has proposed that the UN Charter be amended in two ways:

o Voting should be based on what he calls a "binding triad." Each member state's vote would be counted three ways: one-nation-one vote; weighted by population; and weighted by contributions to the UN budget. A resolution would have to win a majority under each of these counting systems to pass.

o Having passed these three tests, the resolution would be binding on all nations.

The UN would be prohibited from interfering in internal affairs, to be adjudicated, in case of a protest, by the World Court.

Hudson draws a parallel between his proposal and the geographical check of the US Senate on the popular vote of the US House, adding that there was, during the Constitutional Convention, discussion of using state financial contributions as the basis for representation.

The World Federalists voted last fall to support a "serious and balanced" study of the proposal, although there is skepticism within that organization about the idea.

The binding triad concept is just one of many proposals for changing the UN into a more useful organization, but at the least suggests the potential for new ideas on the matter. Info: Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18th St., NYC NY 10003.

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> "Simply put, there was a cake on the mission (to Iran last May). I didn't buy it, bake it, cook it, eat it, present it or otherwise get involved with it. — **Robert McFarlane on 'Nightline'**
>
> The interesting question is not whether Miranda should go, but how we should facilitate its demise and what we should replace it with. We regard a challenge to Miranda as essential. — **Justice Department staff report prepared last year.**
>
> He works for only around 90 minutes a day and needs even longer naps than usual. Sometimes it takes him an hour after waking to focus his thoughts again. His mind wanders, and he tells silly, pointless anecdotes. He is almost never seen in public —**Simon Hoggart, writing of Reagan in The Observer**"

Arabs in the US

Operating under the cloak of anti-Arab hysteria, the Reagan administration has taken a number of steps that restrict the rights of Arab-Americans. For example, during the 1981 Libyan hit squad hoax, the administration issued an executive order that dismantled Carter administration bans on domestic political surveillance. That same year the Reaganites rewrote extradition law to end protection for aliens whose deportation would send them back to countries of violent political conflict. This not only affected Arabs but Irish aliens as well. Most recently, reports James J. Zogby, executive director of the Arab American Institute, a recent INS "alien terrorist and undesirable contingency plan" is retinterpreting provisions of the McCarthy-era McCarren-Walter Act to "imprison, try in secret and deport large numbers of aliens based solely on their ethnicity or their political beliefs or associations." A case in point is the recent round-up of Palestinians on the west coast, seven of whom are still being held under maximum security with no visitation rights. Writes Zogby: Two of the group are permanent residents — both married — who have been living and working in southern California for six years. After one was arrested, police left his three-year-old son alone in the house where he was later found by his mother in hysterics. — From PNS

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THOUGHTS ON WAR

We are mad, not only individuals, but nations also. We restrain manslaughter and isolated murders; but what of war and the so-called glory of killing whole peoples? Our greed has no limit, nor our cruelty. When crimes are committed stealthily by individuals they are less harmful and less monstrous; but deeds of cruelty are done every day by command of Senate and popular assembly, and servants of the state are ordered to do what is forbidden to the private citizen. The same deeds which would be punished by death if committed in secret are applauded when done openly by soldiers in uniform. Man, the gentlest of animals, is not ashamed to glory in blood-shedding and to wage war when even the beasts are living in peace together. *—Seneca, Letters 95, c.63AD*

We come to give you liberty and equality. But don't lose your heads about it—the first person who stirs without my permission will be shot. *—Marshal Pierre F.J. Lefebvre, on occupying Franconian town, 1807*

We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination, men, women and children. Nothing less will reach the root of the case. *—Gen. Wm. Tecumseh Sherman: Despatch to Pres. Grant*

Recruits! Before the altar and the servant of God you have given me the oath of allegiance . . . You have sworn fidelity to me, you are the children of my guard, you are my soldiers, you have surrendered yourself to me, body and soul.

Only one enemy can exist for you—my enemy. With the present Socialist machination, it may happen that I shall order you to shoot your own relatives, your brothers, or even your parents—which God forbid—and then you are bound in duty implicitly to obey my orders. *—Wilhelm II: Speech, 1891*

Perhaps my dynamite plants will put an end to war sooner than your congresses. On the day two army corps can annihilate each other in one second all civilized nations will recoil from war in horror. *—Alfred Nobel: To Bertha von Suttner, at a pacifist congress, in Switzerland, August, 1892*

The people should tremble first at "their own" soldiers, for they are raised in the first instance to keep *them* in order, that is "in their place"; and only secondarily against some potential "foreign invaders." *—Jacob Hamlin, Arise, Ye Masses!, 1893*

I want no prisoners. I wish you to burn and kill; the more you burn and kill the better it will please me.
—Brig. Gen. Jacob H. Smith: Order to Maj. L.W.T. Waller for the pacification of Samar during the Philippine Insurrection, Oct. 1901

We're not going to just shoot the sons-of-bitches, we're going to rip out their living goddamned guts and use them to grease the treads of our tanks. We're going to murder those lousy Hun cocksuckers by the bushel-fucking-basket. War is a bloody, killing business. You've got to spill their blood, or they will spill yours. Rip them up the belly. Shoot them in the guts . . . We are advancing constantly and we are not interested in holding onto anything, except the enemy's balls. We are going to twist his balls and kick the living shit out of him all the time . . . We are going to go through him like crap through a goose; like shit through a tin horn!
—Lt. Gen. George S. Patton, Jr., speech at Stourport-on-Severn, D-Day Eve, June 5, 1944

Our men preferred killing Japs to capturing them until a case of beer was offered for each captive. *—from The Best of Yank, WW2*

We sure liberated the hell out of this place. *—Remark by unidentified U.S. soldier in a French village, 1944*

The American bombing of Japanese cities might yet prove to be "a great blessing," since it would "allow many crooked streets to be straightened and many parks and lagoons "to take the place of unsightly large buildings."
—Broadcast by Japanese Home Minister Genki, WW2

I understand death by atomic radiation is quite pleasant.
—Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves, Director of the Los Alamos Atomic Bomb Project

b. Pres. Lyndon Johnson told a group of students who visited the White House that many of his ideas had come from students. He said he would like to see them develop as much fanaticism as young Nazis did about their system during the war.
—Early editions (only) of the N.Y. Times, Feb. 6, 1965

China's atom-bomb is a freedom bomb . . . it is the bomb of the people and so it is the bomb for peace.
—Members of pan African freedom conference, before 1965

I watch [the pilots'] hands and their feet on the controls, the delicacy of the coordination reminds me of the sure and seeming slow hands of Casals on the cello. They are truly musician's hands and they play their controls like music and they dance them like ballerinas and they make me jealous because I want so much to do it. *—John Steinbeck, Vietnam, 1967*

I still remember the effect I produced on a small group of Galla tribesmen massed around a man in black clothes. I dropped an aerial torpedo right in the center, and the group opened up like a flowering rose. It was most entertaining.
—Vittorio Mussolini, Ethiopia, 1934

I do like to see the arms and legs fly!
—Col. George S. Patton III, Vietnam era

—Collected by Tuli Kupferberg

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WEATHER REPORT

Jackson turns on Iowa town

In one of the rare interesting developments in the 1988 race for the Democratic presidential nomination, Jesse Jackson in January attracted 800 people to a church potluck supper in Greenfield, Iowa — an all-white town of 2500. The 800 turned out despite the competing attraction of the Super Bowl and, says the Democratic state chair, "I know skeptics who came away awe-struck." Bonnie Campbell added: "He talks about problems that ordinary people are experiencing." Jackson's trip was organized by a local UAW official, several churches, some party activists and the Farm Unity Coalition. Said Rev. David Ostendorf, a leader of Farm Unity, Jackson is "the only person who is speaking the truth, and he's articulating the problems in the country. You don't ordinarily get a crowd like this in southwest Iowa."

The Chernobyl memorial

If you take the mid-range of three studies done on projected cancer rates as a result of the Chernobyl disaster, you can expect 39,000 people to die of cancer related to the plant explosion. And, according to Dr. Robert P. Gale, who has been working with Soviet health officials, some 21,000 of these deaths occur in neighboring European countries.

Going into business for progress

ACORN, the neighborhood-based group representing the interests of low and moderate income people, made more than $1.5 million for itself last year through the copy paper sales of its profitable subsidiary, ACORN Services Inc. Says ACORN president Irma Pernell: "Traditional fundraising absorbed man-hours we wanted to use elsewhere. We tried the paper deal and gradually it began to work. We started by selling to friendly organizations and then relized we had a good market niche. Now 85% of our budget comes from ASI profits. Setting up a business seems to be a new direction for non-profit organizations to insure continuity of their programs."

Military takes over scientific research

Over the past five years, the percentage of federally funded R&D linked to defense has jumped from 50% to 72%. According to United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, the Pentagon now provides about 16% of all federal funding on campuses. Meanwhile, research budgets from other US agencies in health, science and space have leveled off or declined. In some fields, the Pentagon is dominant among federal funding, providing 56% of the US bucks in electrical engineering and 46% in computer science. Further, the Pentagon money is being increasingly directed towards applied R&D at the expense of pure

MONDRAGON: WO

by **Terry Mollner**

A SYNERGISTIC solution to the capitalist-socialist duality seems to be present in an unusual social experiment in Spain. This experiment began in a small, rather isolated Basque village called Mondragon in the Pyrenees Mountains. The word "synergy" needs to be used instead of "synthesis" because Mondragon is so different from capitalism, socialism, communism, and other forms of cooperativism that it seems to transcend the combination of its parts into something wholly different and unique.

Mondragon is the center of a stunningly successful new social order which stretches into every Basque neighborhood. Nearly 400,000 families deposit their money in the Caja Laboral Popular ("The Bank of the People's Labor") which is a cooperative bank with 120 branch offices. The Bank's main task is to create worker-owned jobs for the community. Since the Bank was founded in a church basement in 1958, nearly 20,000 guaranteed-for-life, worker-owned jobs in over [illegible]00 cooperatives have been created by the Mondragon [illegible]m-munity.

Eighty-six of the cooperatives are industrial enterprises. Collectively they are the top producers of appliances (refrigerators to toasters) and tools (die presses to plastic rulers) in Spain. Their productivity per worker is the highest in the country and their profitability is nearly double that of their competitors. In a study by the Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society, the management was found to be some of the most aggressive and innovative ever seen by the Foundation's staff. The other worker-owners were found to be highly motivated and fulfilled by their jobs. Yet the salary scale is restricted to the ratio of four and one half to one, that is, no one can receive a salary plus overtime in excess of four and one half times that of the lowest paid person. In the U.S. the salary ratio exceeds 100 to 1.

To keep the focus on serving the entire community through worker-owned job creation, the lowest salary is kept not far above minimum wage. Thus, the highest salaries are significantly below their counterparts in the conventional sector. These lower salaries and wages are offset by the worker-owners' share of profits, if any, each year.

There is very little turnover of worker-owners. In addition, there always have been groups waiting in line for the bank to assist them in forming a cooperative enterprise.

In the late 1950s early 1960s, the small pre-order and storefront food cooperatives joined with the Bank to create a sophisticated, growth-oriented consumer cooperative, Eroski. Today it has 120,000 members and 72 stores throughout the Basque region, some the size of corner stores and ot[illegible]s more like K-Marts. There are six agricultural cooperat[illegible], fourteen housing cooperatives, 43 cooperative schools, and four secondary cooperatives which provide services to the

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science. A big factor in this has been the federal funding of Star Wars research.

Students revive interest in campus governing
After more than a ten year lapse of interest, students at colleges around the US have renewed efforts to gain seats on the governing boards of their schools. Campaigns have been launched at Harvard, all Ohio public colleges, Alabama state and elsewhere. At Harvard, one stuent oberver attributed the revival to the campus anti-apartheid movement, which led some students to question how investment and other campuswide decisions were made. Currently, 32 states and DC let students sit on at least one education governing board. A few have voting privileges.

‹ER'S COOPERATIVE

cooperatives. These four are the Bank, a technical research nstitute (Ikerlan), the League of Education and Culture (which ncludes a Polytechnical College, a Business School and a rofessional College), and a social security and medical cooperative (Lagun-Aro).

THE BANK'S COMMERCIAL LOAN POLICY: Mondragon has a 00 per cent success rate at forming industrial cooperatives nd making loans to them. Compare this to the statistics on ew small businesses in the United States: only 10 per cent to 0 per cent are in business after five years. Venture capital irms here assume a majority of their investments will fail and ope to make their large profits on the few companies that do ell.

Mondragon not only assumes every new business will succeed, it makes a commitment to the business until it does. It acks this pledge with a highly skilled staff in the Bank's Entrepreneurial Division and a policy of *lowering* the interest on oans to worker-owned cooperatives as the loan gets riskier. he people at Mondragon believe they are all in business ogether — worker-owners, consumers, Bank depositors, and ommunity. They arrange it so that each worker-owned usiness is ultimately successful, the worker-owners will have obs they can control for life, the business will avoid wasteful risis management, the Bank depositors will feel secure about heir savings, and the community will not have to worry about lisruptive plant closings or absentee owners.

How does the Bank make loans to businesses so they never ail? It simply reverses the priorities of the capitalist system. In capitalist society, the four main ingredients of a business are nked as follows: 1) capital, 2) product, 3) managers, 4) orkers. "Things" are given the highest priority, and people re the lowest. Most important to the capitalist is the increase n capital. The second concern is the product or service that ill be the vehicle to accomplish it. Managers and workers are ommodities that are rented as needed. The workers are the east important of the four major factors. The capitalist will bandon workers, but never his or her capital.

Mondragon has reversed these priorities as follows: 1) orkers, 2) managers, 3) product, 4) capital. People are given he highest priority and "things" the lowest. Because capital is ainly stored labor and since the entire community is behind he creation of any business, nothing — not even capital — is er abandoned. As long as the community is willing to put abor into the formation of a business, there will be capital vailable. Thus, Mondragon forms a business as follows: First, he staff of the Bank's Entrepreneurial Division interviews ro requesting the Bank's assistance. The Bank only inerviews groups, never individuals. Since the business is to be cooperative, one of the pre-conditions must be friendship bonds between the people in the starter group. The loving relationships among the first worker-owners form the foundation of the new business.

When the Bank selects a group, it joins in *a partnership* with it to create a new worker-owned cooperative business. The agreement between the Bank and the business is viewed as a partnership because both are committed to never abandoning the other until the business is running profitably and smoothly. To make this partnership real, each member of the starter group loans the new business a substantial amount of capital so both the Bank and the group members are at risk. Serving the community in this way is considered an honor in Mondragon.

The group then meets alone and chooses one of its members to be their manager. This person will spend at least two years at the Bank under the guidance of an expert (affectionately known as the "Godfather"). Together they will develop a business plan and a community development plan. This latter requirement was added in the early 1970's. No business can come before the Bank's Board of Directors for approval until the Community Development Division of the Bank is confident that all the housing, park, commercial, and other community services will be provided for the maximum number of worker-owners who could work in the planned facility.

Notice that nothing yet has been said about the product. The starter group doesn't care what product they produce except that it be good for people. They are a group of friends who want to work together and serve the community by producing good, needed products and by creating worker-owned jobs. Of course, the group will usually have skills in a general area, electronics or plastics, for instance; but there is little concern about the particular product they will produce. To help them in this area, there are two Bank worker-owners in the Entrepreneurial Division whose sole job is identifying new products for Mondragon businesses. Once a product is chosen, the two years of planning accomplished, and the go ahead given by the Bank's Board of Directors, the business begins. If at any point the manager ceases to be effectual, he or she is demoted (at Mondragon, no one is fired save for treasonous acts) and a new manager is selected. If the product ceases to be viable, a new product is found even if it is necessary to acquire entirely new machinery. The more trouble the business encounters, the more capital the Bank loans it at decreasing interest rates (first at 13 per cent, then at 7 per cent, then at 0 per cent, and sometimes loans are forgiven). Once there is a successful business, the loans are eventually repaid and the Bank, thereby, never has a defaulted loan. As this loan policy reveals, Mondragon is different. The Basque people who founded it have a very strong collective self-identity as opposed to an individualistic self-identity. When an American reflects on who he or she is, he or she easily dwells on his or her particular body and personality. When a Basque person reflects on who he or she is, he or she easily dwells on the Basque people. The "I" is very much inside the "us" rather than outside it. This quality is reflected in and flows from their history.

From **Green Revolution.** Info: Terry Mollner, Trusteeship Institute, Bakers Rd, Chutesbury MA 01072

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US progress on infant mortality slows

As the United States' progress in reducing overall infant morality slowed for the fourth consecutive year, the country's infant mortality ranking among 20 industrialized nations continued its 35-year decline from sixth to a tie for last place, according to a new report from the Children's Defense Fund. The report also makes these points:

- Black infants continue to die at nearly twice the rate of white infants.
- Between 1983 and 1984, infant mortality rates increased in six of America's 22 largest cities. A black infant born within five miles of the White House is more likely to die in the first year of life than an infant born in Trinidad, Tobago or Costa Rica. Info: The Health of America's Children, CDF, 122 C NW, DC 20001. $9.95.

Fawn Hall is the Vanna White of the Iran scandal. She's the one who gets to change the letters.

Sex education shows results

Two years ago, 142 cases of rectal gonorrhea were reported each month in San Francisco, with 95% of the victims being male. The number has now dropped to 20 per month following extensive educational programs concerning AIDs, which has been related to some of the same practices as has rectal gonorrhea.

Job growth, but poor jobs

Job creation in the US last year was overwhelmingly concentrated in low-paying jobs in the service industries. Jobs in retail trade and health and business services accounted for 67% of the net increase in jobs during 1986, according to a study by the Council on International and Public Affairs. Average weekly wages for these jobs are below or only slightly above the poverty line. Further, the average work week has been declining in these fields over the past twenty years, so that by

Suppose a nuclear plant had operated during Christ's lifetime

Excerpts from a speech by Petra Kelly at the Oxford Union Society, June 20, 1986:

But suppose that a nuclear plant had been operating during Christ's lifetime. Assume that the operators had stored the radioactive wastes in giant shielded canisters. We would have been guarding these wastes for less than 1 percent of the time that they would have to be isolated from the environment.

The dangers from nuclear power are immediate and long range. They are awesome and unprecedented. Risk of catastrophic accidents as in Chernobyl, release of poisonous waste, low-level radiation (even during normal operations), sabotage, the building of atomic bombs by terrorists — these are only a few of the terrible possibilities. In spite of these imminent dangers, the nuclear industry argues that we must have hundreds of nuclear plants throughout Europe to maintain a high living standard. What in fact is happening is that the criminal governments and criminal nuclear lobbies are threatening us, the people, by telling us that, if we don't go along with what the nuclear establishment advises and wants, we will lose our jobs, our food supply will dwindle, and all will return to the stone age.

***

It is a cycle of death: the mining of uranium ore, the milling and enrichment of uranium, fuel fabrication, the operation of nuclear reactors, reprocessing plants, fast breeders, nuclear sewage, and decommissioning nuclear power plants. Every nuclear power plant will end up on the radioactive garbage heap, because the plant can operate for only twenty - thirty years before it becomes too radioactive to repair or maintain. The costs of decommissioning nuclear power plants are catastrophically high and these projects are taking two-three years to complete. And what to do with the lethal legacy of nuclear sewage? Nuclear industry projections anticipate a total of 142 million gallons of high-level waste by the year 2000. The cost of preparing even our present load of 83 million gallons for geological disposal is estimated at 20 billion dollars.

Even if there are unbreakable, corrosion-resistant containers, even if there are storage sites on earth, they will have to be kept under constant surveillance by incorruptible guards, administered by moral politicians living in a stable, warless society, left undisturbed by earthquakes, natural disasters or other acts of God for no less than thousands of years.

Green Letter

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the end of 1986, the average was only 28.8 hours in the retail trade and 32.4 in health and business services. Average weekly wages were only $177 in retail trade and $269 in health and business services, compared to $411 in manufacturing.

Defense budget redistributes nation's wealth

A study recently completed by the Center for Economic Conversion shows that military spending in effect forces regions hard hit economically to support other parts of the country that are better off and even thriving. The study compared tax receipts from each state that went to the Pentagon with defense expenditures in that state. Randy Schutt, research analyst for CEC, writes that "We found a massive shift of funds from some states, mostly in the northeast and midwest, to other states with large defense contractors, shipyards, or military installations. Here's a list of some of big winners and losers because of the hidden Pentagon tax:

California	+$12 billion
Virginia	+8 billion
Missouri	+4 billion
Massachusetts	+2 billion
Maryland	+2 billion
Connecticut	+2 billion
Iowas	-$2 billion
Oregon	-$2 billion
Tennessee	-$3 billion
Wisconsin	-$4 billion
New Jersey	-$5 billion
Ohio	-$6 billion
Pennsylvania	-$7 billion
Michigan	-$7 billion
New York	-$9 billion
Illinois	-$12 billion

A total of 32 states were net losers of Pentagon funding — with a tax loss totalling $74 billion. —PNS

Air Museum crops up in Contra scandal

Pacific News Service correspondent Anthony Kimery reports that planes tied to the contras, including the one shot down with Eugene Hasenfus aboard, were at one time in the inventory of the US Air Force Museum in Dayton, Ohio. The longtime museum director has a history of covert operations in Vietnam. Kimery found curious mismatches in information obtained from the Air Force and that in Federal Aviation Administration documents. Although some of the planes were allegedly traded for other planes, a search of FAA records show that the parties allegedly traded with did not officially own the planes they were supposed to have. Kimery also

Pay Equity

The Problem

In 1985 full-time women workers earned only 64¢ compared to every $1.00 earned by men.

This amounted to an $8,430 gap between men's and women's median annual earnings.

	Annual Earnings		Women's Earnings as % of Men's
	Women's	Men's	
1955	$2,714	$4,242	63.9%
1965	3,823	6,375	60.0%
1975	7,504	12,758	58.8%
1980	11,197	18,612	60.2%
1985	15,624	24,195	64.5%

Sex-based wage discrimination results when wage setting is based on the sex of the worker rather than the skills required for the job.

Occupations	1985 Median Annual Earnings*
Secretary (98% female)	$14,508
Painter (94% male)	15,828
Pre-kindergarten & kindergarten teacher (99% female)	14,352
Mail Carrier (83% male)	24,232
Registered Nurse (98% female)	22,568
Electrical equipment repairer (92% male)	25,740
Bank Teller (93% female)	11,388
Shipping Clerk (75% male)	15,704

*Based on median weekly earnings

1985 Mean Annual Earnings as Percent of White Males'

White Males	$28,159	100.0%
Black Males	19,949	70.8%
Hispanic Males	19,692	69.9%
White Females	17,253	61.2%
Black Females	15,459	54.8%
Hispanic Females	14,576	51.7%

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reports that control of the museum abruptly shifted from mid-level to high-level Air Force officials in Washington about three years ago.

More on drug policy and AIDS.
We have previously noted the connection between drug policy and the spread of AIDS, which has pitted public health officials against drug-hunting prosecutors. Now comes a report from Edinburgh, where health researchers and social workers say that the city's crackdown on drug paraphernalia has forced addicts to share dirty needles and syringes, a development that, in turn, has brought about a large-scale increase in the spread of AIDS.

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